

# Aotearoa Youth Network



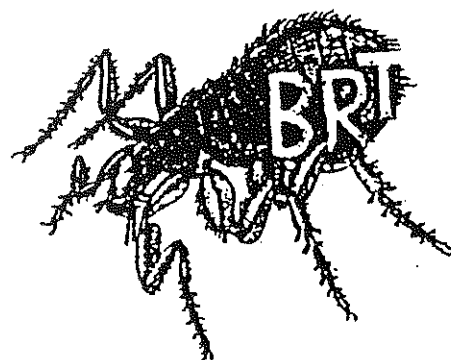
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# Contents

2. Regional Contacts, Editorial.
3. Takahue School Burning Inevitable.
4. Struggling Through the Nineties - The Milton Workers Play.
5. CHOGM.
6. Gustafsen Lake Occupation.
8. Understand Mother (poem).
9. Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation.
13. Sovereignty, Democracy, and Human Rights.
16. Gillette Protests.
17. International News.
18. Just Jobs, Just Wages.
19. Sovereignty Affirmed, YCW Calendars, Omomo Melen Pacific.

## The BRT Flea



The largest known blood-sucking parasite threatening Aotearoa today.

*improve it, and what we, as young activists want to do, and where we want to head. I look forward to seeing as many as you there as possible.*

*On a more personal note, both Joss Debrecey and Cybele Locke, who have been effectively putting out this magazine for over two years now, will be leaving Dunedin, and leaving the production of this magazine behind. Joss is moving up to Wellington, and working, and Cybele to Auck-*

*Hi everyone.*

*Another month, and hopefully you are all making preparations for CHOGM. Whether it is actually being at the protests, or informing people about CHOGM and the issues involved with it, or just passing on the articles that AYN has published onto others,*

*CHOGM is an important issue for all of us. As the people with the knowledge that AYN and other sources provides us, we have a chance to make change, to be active.*

*There will be a large group of young people at CHOGM, and hopefully we can talk about AYN, where it is going, how to*

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land, for further studies.

*As a person who has been involved with this magazine for some two years now, and as the person who is now responsible for its production, I want to extend the thanks of the whole network for the work that Joss and Cybele have done over the past two years. AYN is a tremendous amount of work, and it is not only unpaid, but it costs those who do it. The two of them between them, with some help, have produced a high quality magazine, monthly, and have put a great deal of their strength and personal beliefs into it.*

*Throughout the last two years this magazine has reached hundreds of people, and hopefully changed a few. Joss and Cybele are both good friends of mine, and I wish them well with their lives as they move on, and I give them thanks for what they have done, and what they have achieved. I hope that they have changed your lives in some way, much as they have changed mine.*

*Kia Kaha and Arohanui*

*Kyle*

# TAKAHUE SCHOOL BURNING INEVITABLE

The burning of Takahue School in the Far North is an inevitable consequence of the Crown's handling of Maori issues, and in particular issues of disputed land.

The Crown insists that it is the legal owner of all disputed land. It will not recognize that where it is a protagonist, on one side of a land dispute, it cannot and must not act as judge, jury and executioner in that dispute. This attitude only entrenches Maori views of the Crown as a force with which reason and dialogue are useless. If in the end the Crown exercises the ultimate sanction of removing occupying protesters by force, there can only be three outcomes;

- 1) Complete surrender of the protesters
- 2) Violent resistance
- 3) Actions such as those at Takahue

The first option would obviously be the preferred option of the Crown, but is unrealistic. People do not go into these situations for a lark. There are deep-seated reasons, based usually in deeply held convictions arising from grievous injustices, that people will occupy an area of land. They will not give up their action without a struggle of some sort.

The second option is obviously least preferable from the point of view of

the Crown. It would have the effect of escalating Maori protest to a level comparable with Bosnia. If the whole situation of Maori/Pakeha relations is not addressed on the basis of justice and the recognition of tino rangatiratanga then this option will eventually become inevitable too.

The third option, given the above, becomes the only option viable for Maori protesters who know they have been ripped off by the Crown and are determined to take a stand against the injustices dealt out to them.

The Crown has no right arbitrating in its own favour in cases of disputed land. It has to recognize that Maori never ceded sovereignty, that land has been unjustly and indeed illegally taken, and must stand aside in favour of an independent authority acceptable to both parties in Maori land disputes. The alternative is a continuing escalation of violence until we are all embroiled in option 2.

## ACTION FOR AN INDEPENDENT AOTEAROA

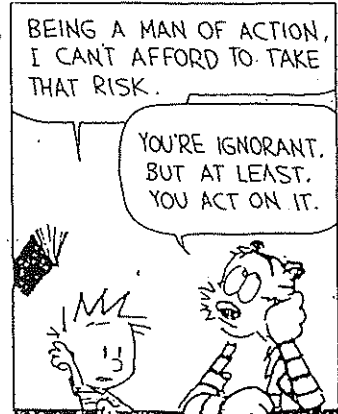
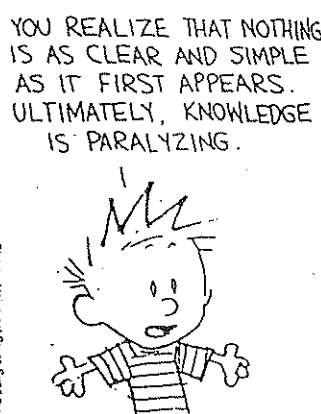
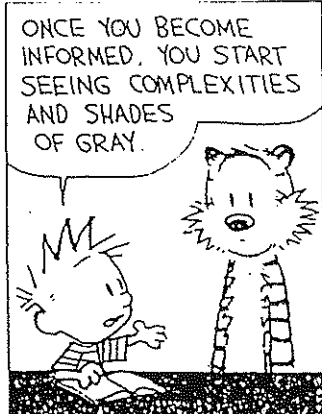
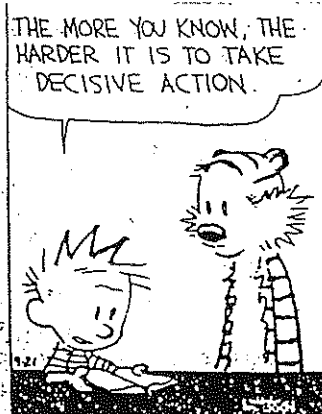
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# Struggling Through the Nineties

The locked-out Milton workers story told through drama

The story of thirteen workers who have been locked-out for three and a half years in the South Otago town of Milton is being told in a play produced by Petone based community drama group **Te Ohu Mahi a Iwi**.

The workers were locked-out of Alliance Textiles in January after refusing to sign a non-negotiable contract. They have remained picketing ever since, embarrassing the government and the company, supporting other workers' disputes and becoming involved in other local issues such as health and education.

Paul Maunder and Lisa Beech from Petone visited the Milton workers in March, and after several months preparing and rehearsing the play, returned with actor Elain Liua for the play's premiere in Milton on August 28.

The atmosphere at the performance was electric, as the workers waited to see what we had made of their story, and we presented their own

struggle to them. The presence of five scabs from the Mill also contributed to the energy in the hall. The workers deeply approved and accepted the play, and sent us out as part of their struggle to keep their story alive.

The scabs were quiet, though their presence certainly enlivened the occasion. Perhaps they were fooled by the "in the round" setting of the play with the audience highly involved - no chance to sit at the back of a darkened hall and safely jeer. They were able to talk to union organisers on the way out. Other South Island uses for the play included a lunchtime cafeteria performance at Mainland Cheese, and performances for the Dunedin Trades Council, Christchurch unionists and the Dunedin Socialist Workers Group. One morning we joined the Milton workers in their picket bus and sang songs through the PA system - once again everyone enjoyed the glimpses of faces at windows and behind doors, and sensed that many workers were interested and willing to talk.

The play is now available for use by unions and other groups. Requests

are coming in, with details of each performance being dropped into the Alliance management to let them know how the story is spreading.

Te Ohu Mahi a Iwi hopes that play will also spark discussion of other union cultural work/Art in working life projects. These are an established part of the union and community art scene in other countries, notably across the Tasman where Australian unions and performers have joined together (with generous art funding assistance) to tell stories and create images of workers' lives.

For the performers, it has been a privilege to work with a wonderful group of workers and feel we have a place to contribute to their struggle by telling their story. We need more cultural work in unions like this play.

**Struggling through the nineties** is available for performances at meetings and gatherings for a koha. Contact Te Ohu Mahi a Iwi, 2 Campbell Tce, Petone, ph 568 5033.

The play has been produced by the locked-out Milton workers and Te Ohu Mahi a Iwi with the assistance of the National Distribution Union and Southern Regional Arts Council.

• Lisa Beech



# CHOGM

Interest in the Commonwealth Heads Of Government Meeting is building, with people around Auckland having a high awareness of it. CHOGM has taken on an important civil rights aspect in people's minds, as they feel shut out of their own city, and so the public attitude to proposed protests has generally been supportive.

Media coverage has been very intense. For some time there has been at least one newspaper article every day, ranging from reports that police are going back to wearing caps instead of their new broad hats (as they keep hitting each other in the face when in close formations), to Jim Bolger stating that there shouldn't be protests and (somewhat ironically) that there wouldn't be any media interest.

The coalition organising demonstrations continues to broaden, and members feel optimistic that a wide range of people will be taking part in their actions. They see the major issues as: exposing the social cost of the government's policies; demanding the decolonisation of Aotearoa and action on Te Tiriti o Waitangi; calling on Commonwealth countries to address issues of inequality and human rights (including freeing political prisoner); and asserting the rights to freedom of assembly, speech, and movement.

Demonstrators are converging from around the country. Activists from Dunedin, Christchurch, Wellington, Palmerston North, New Plymouth and Rotorua have confirmed that they will be attending, and more are expected.

1950 police as well as security guards will also be in attendance. Many of these police will be armed, some with sub-machine guns. At a

recent meeting with members of the coalition, police leader Superintendent Bryan Rowe said that he would tolerate protest near Aotea Square, but not in other areas. He also said that undercover police would be on the protests, and that helicopters would be in the air constantly. Strangely, he claimed that a "no-arrests" policy would be in effect, as had been the case during Asian Development Bank conference (at which 35 people were arrested).

The city council has done its best to recruit for demonstrations by annoying as many people as possible, asking them to close their businesses during CHOGM if possible, or otherwise to be parked before 7 AM, and to cancel any appointments. To show that CHOGM is really in the interests of the people, the council pamphlet has an illustration of vehicles stuck in a traffic jam, with the cars and buses all having smiley faces.

As well as demonstrations, a number of forums will be held. Maori students are organising a hui at Waipapa university (contact Maori Students Office, AUSA); Christians are organising a workshop on responses to CHOGM (contact Student Christian Movement), and the university is organising a seminar on decolonisation (contact Auckland University History Department).

The CHOGM action coalition has undertaken to provide free but basic accommodation in the central city for anyone who needs it. They invite all activists to join them in action, and in a training day to be held in conjunction with the VOICE youth project.

For information, or to offer help or donations, contact the CHOGM Action Coalition at PO Box 3813 Auckland 1: ph (09) 302-2496 fax (09) 377-4804.



Asia Development Bank Protests, May "Same Square, different hats"

# Gustafsen Lake Occupation

A Indian land occupation in British Columbia, Canada ended peacefully, after over a month of tense standoff, and scenes of violence. The occupation began in June when about two dozen Indians and white supporters occupied privately owned ranchland at Gustafson Lake, claiming that the land was sacred, and that a Privy Council inquiry was needed into the treatment of Indians and their loss of land.

August 24th, the Royal Canadian Mounties Patrol rejected Shuswap Sundance Defenders' terms for a peaceful resolution of the Gustafson Lake rebellion in support of indigenous sovereignty and land rights.

In a letter from Percy Rosette Faithkeeper, Shuswap traditionalist, dated August 24th the occupiers stated that they were seeking a peaceful resolution to a crisis which had been going on for 139 years. The letter stated that they had never ceded or sold their territory, and that anyone claiming title to their stolen lands should be compensated by the government of British Columbia and the lands returned. They agreed to lay down our arms after receiving a guarantee of diplomatic immunity from prosecution for all members of the camp, and audiences with the Queen's Privy Council and Governor General of Canada.

RCMP spokesperson Peter Montague peremptorily dismissed the offer with the statement that surrender must be "swift, decisive and unconditional.... People at the level of the Governor General and

the Privy Council do not involve themselves with a gang of thugs," said Montague.

On August 28th shock waves rippled across the country at the announcement by the RCMP that two of their men had been shot in the back, saved only by their bulletproof vests. Newspapers report "Indians fire at Mounties in BC.", "Rebel natives ambush Mounties".

However an article the next day in the Montreal Gazette, by William Johnson, painted an interesting picture of the story. Johnson pointed out that the native occupiers could not tell their side of the story because the mounties have cut off their means of communication. Journalists had been kept away from the scene by the RCMP.

The Canadian Press article on the event stated that "Indian rebels ambushed an RCMP team with a hail of bullets." Professionalism would have required that the reporter add: "according to an RCMP official. Johnson also pointed out that if it was an ambush upon unsuspecting targets, one would expect that someone would get hurt, yet no one was.

"Reporters should not take sides and decide who is right. They do have a responsibility to the public to be cautious, to recognise that both sides have an interest in manipulating them, but only one side really has access to them and controls what they say" stated the article.

The day after this article was

written, counsel for the Shuswap Defenders, Dr. Bruce Clark, released evidence that directly contradicted the RCMP's account of the incident. Spent shell casings from the RCMP tactical assault team, a secretly-recorded audio tape of the events, and a sworn affidavit from an independent journalist inside the camp proved that the RCMP initiated the shooting incident on Sunday, "firing directly at the traditionalists' camp".

On August 29th Ujjal Dosanjh, the BC Attorney General, stated "There is no point in more meetings [there had been none], I will not negotiate with renegades. There is only one issue here: law and order. There will be no deals, no talk about land ownership. It is not about land. They can give themselves up to the police for protection or face the consequences."

Dr Clark advised the RCMP that the armed standoff can be solved. "There would be a letter from the Attorney-General of Canada to her Majesty - confirmed by the Canadian Governor-General, acting upon the instructions of the Canadian Privy Council, waiving any objection of Canada, to the Queen addressing the petition dated January 3rd 1995."

On September 2nd, police announced the creation of a 2000 square mile "no-go zone" in the region surrounding the Gustafsen Lake area. Police stated that this was an attempt to keep black bear hunters out of the region. The Shuswap Indians however felt that it was to prevent observation of police

manoeuvres. As such they called for human rights and other activists to come to Gustafsen Lake to create a "ring of peace" between the police and the encampment.

On September 11th an emergency meeting of the Department of Indian Affairs was addressed by two Shuswap supporters. The two supporters called for support for two resolutions:

1. Deadly military force never be the final option to resolve these human rights issues.
2. An international impartial UN mediator independent of the issues appointed.

The result was startling. Upper Nicola band chief Scotty Holmes stated "the people at Gustafsen Lake do have our support. God, if someone came to your house with weapons, would you stand there with your finger up your ass? No goddamn way! You'd shoot back. We're not advocating violence. No way. That's the last of our options. But let's not forget, if you're forced by aggression, there's no way you can stand by and watch it. Our people have been patient for a long, long time". The chiefs threw their support behind the militants, and called for a UN mediator to be brought in to settle the dispute.

Later that day a negotiating committee from the Shuswap Liaison Group approached the RCMP's final checkpoint into the camp (approx. 2-3 km from the camp), a red pick-up truck from the camp proceeded to meet the delegation. According to Gordon Sebastian, one of the liaison team: "the RCMP were well aware that these people come out of the camp, come up to the road and await the arrival of the delegation."

The Defenders' red vehicle then apparently "drove over an 'Early Warning Device' police had put on a logging road", RCMP Sgt. Peter Montague said. Police confirmed this device was an explosive, ie. a land mine.

According to Montague, "yesterday

the occupants had been advised to stay within a confined area and that area was well described to them. The RCMP had tightened their security net, and they were well aware of that."

According to Gordon Sebastian, native liaison member: "when the Shuswap elders reached the meeting point, no-one was there'. Shortly after, 'there was a large discharge and we felt the wind on our faces and clothes.... and then there was small calibre fire - about 11 or 12 shots.' At 2:15 PM the liaison group heard 'at the most 60 rounds...'." Sebastian disputed RCMP estimates of thousands of rounds being fired.

According to RCMP, a firefight with a Bison heavy armoured vehicle ensued. This vehicle suffered "mechanical difficulties" as a result of (return) fire from the red truck's occupants, three of whom were reportedly shot.

According to the native mediation team, composed of Jeanette Armstrong, Don Ryan (Gitksan negotiator, BC Treaty Commission) and others, the RCMP's public posturing about a peaceful solution is contradicted by all the RCMP's actions.

Penticton Indian Act Band Councilor Stewart Philip said, "The RCMP are preventing the public from learning what's really going on inside the camp by keeping the media far away from site...They're able to carry on their own agenda and present to the public what they feel will find acceptable. By isolating the camp, there's no way of confirming or refuting it."

Attorney-General Ujjal Dosanjh has demanded the Sundancers' unconditional surrender. He continued to reject a peaceful solution based on international adjudication of the traditionalists' sovereignty - continuing to insist that this is simply a police enforcement matter. Rallies and demonstrations worldwide are spreading the news of Canada's illegal invasion of unsundered, uncaded Indian hunting grounds and attempts to suppress the

binding constitutional and international law which established this fact.

On September 18th, the occupiers finally surrendered, allowing native negotiators to lead them out to be arrested. Emerging from police helicopter in handcuffs, a large crowd of supporters cheered their safe exit. All were arrested for trespass and held until further charges could be laid, though one occupier was dismissed as a result of surrendering early in the occupation. Although none of the occupiers demands had been gained, the media attention that the occupation had raised, and the support from around the world again showed that this struggle can be won.

In a postscript the native lawyer who was represented the occupiers was denied the right to represent them in court. At the first hearing the lawyer, Mr Bruce Clark burst into the court room shouting "Are you mad?" and was arrested for contempt of court. Mr Clark also called local Shuswap elders who were trying to end the occupation through negotiation "a gaggle of outright collaborators." The RCMP responded to Mr Clark's calls by stating that they didn't acknowledge Mr Clark, who had represented the natives since the beginning of the occupation. Peter Montague said that they allowed Mr Clark to go into the camp in the hope that he could end the occupation, but all that he had done was to encourage the occupiers.

The history of the land struggle is long. In 1875 the federal Minister of Justice recommended disallowance of BC's illegal land legislation: "no cession of their territorial rights has ever been executed by the Indian Tribes of the Province... The Indians are not averse to taking up arms to enforce rights which it is impossible to deny them... I cannot do otherwise than advise the act is objectionable as tending to deal with lands that are assumed to be the absolute property of the province - an assumption which completely ignores the honour and good faith with which the Crown has in all other cases dealt with the various



Indian  
Tribes."

Yet in 1876  
the federal  
government  
passed the  
Indian Act,  
beginning the  
long dark  
night of  
genocide  
which has led  
to the  
Gustafsen

Lake resistance in the spiritual heart  
of the sacred Shuswap Sundance  
grounds.

The real issue for the Indians is  
sovereignty. The federal cabinet  
calls the Indians "First Nations", yet  
claims that them carrying unregis-  
tered guns is subject to five years  
imprisonment - imposing their laws  
on what they have "recognised" as  
a separate nation. The occupiers  
are following a foundation clause for  
the UN's Bill of Rights, that "A  
PEOPLE HAVE THE RIGHT TO  
SELF-DETERMINATION".

The people at Gustafson Lake have  
decided to protect the area of some  
burial and sacred grounds. Although  
the politicians talk about enforcing  
the rule of law, they refuse to talk  
about the Constitutional law. The  
occupiers are therefore asking for  
the Supreme Court of Canada to  
allow them to present their case to  
an impartial court convened by  
Queen Elizabeth of Britain, a  
precedent set under Queen Anne  
and the Mohicans. On September  
3rd newspapers reported that the  
BC government minister had  
rejected this request.

At another native land occupation in  
Canada, one man is dead, another  
was badly beaten, and a 13 year old  
boy is in surgery to remove a bullet  
from his back. The Ontario Provin-  
cial Police killed 34 year old  
Anthony George, a member of the  
Kettle and Stoney Point Indian Band  
in northern Ontario. He was un-  
armed. Bernard George, a member  
of the band council, was severely  
beaten when he tried to help negoti-  
ate at a road block at Canadian  
Armed Forces base Ipperwash.  
Nick George, who is only 13 or 14  
years old was shot in the back.  
None were armed.

The Mohawk Nation News Service  
reported that The Ontario Provincial  
Police tried to remove the road  
block. A fist fight ensued, success-  
fully driving the OPP away. The  
police returned with 40 to 60 men in  
riot gear. They stormed the gate  
and the people resisted. The OPP  
then opened fire on the Indians in  
the camp. After the attack aboriginal  
people stayed. They are not leaving  
and they are unarmed.

There has been a two year occupa-  
tion of Camp Ipperwash by some  
members of the Kettle and Stony  
Point settlement. The Canadian  
Government took 2000 acres of  
land in 1942 under the War Meas-  
ures act to build the army base.  
This was supposed to be a tempo-  
rary occupation which has now  
lasted for 50 years. 22 families  
were moved in 1942 to the nearby  
village which is now overcrowded.  
The Canadian government and the  
military have ignored the first  
nations claim to the land until the  
people got fed up and occupied the

camp, driving the military out. The  
natives however, cannot take the  
matter to court because the land  
was taken away under the War  
Measures Act.

"And whereas it is just and reason-  
able and essential to our interests...  
that the several Nations or Tribes of  
Indians with who we are connected  
and who live under our protection...  
shall not be molested or disturbed...  
[lands] not having been ceded to or  
purchased by us are reserved to  
them or any of them as their hunting  
grounds."

- Royal Proclamation of 1763,  
incorporated into the existing  
Constitution of Canada.

S. I. S. I. S.  
Settlers in Support of Indigenous  
Sovereignty  
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Victoria, BC V8X 3S2 Canada  
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Compiled off the internet by Kyle  
Matthews

## Understand Mother

*Death is only another place.  
A place where dreams are  
found.  
Desires are met,  
People live forever.  
Death is a place where you are  
happy.  
Yet in life you are sad.  
In life whales are killed,  
People are brutally hurt,  
Lives are destroyed through  
rape and war.  
Don't you see mother,  
Suicide is a permanent cure,  
But only for a temporary  
problem.  
Mother I love you,  
But I was a fool.  
Mother death is truly beautiful.*

• Kaya Blown (14)



# What the hec(k) is APEC?

*While we've been trying to distinguish fact from fiction and fantasy about the supposed benefits of free trade and the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) - along comes APEC.*

APEC (Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation) is hard to get a handle on. Evolving out of various uncoordinated and often competing ideas about regional trade, on one level it could be described as a relatively loose grouping of 18 countries situated around the Pacific Ocean. Current APEC members are Australia, Brunei, Canada, Chile, China, Hong Kong, Indonesia, Japan, South Korea, Malaysia, Mexico, New Zealand, Papua New Guinea, Philippines, Singapore, Taiwan, Thailand and USA. APEC's purpose is to foster economic integration across the Pacific, in particular to support the high levels of economic growth which currently prevail in the region. Its main objective is to abolish international barriers to trade and investment. The region comprises 40% of the world's population and over 40% of world trade.

Since 1989, it has done this several ways, including annual APEC summits involving government officials and business interests from throughout the region. 'Leaders' Meetings' began at the 1993 APEC Summit in Seattle.

It is increasingly clear that APEC serves the economic and political interests of the USA and Japan more than those of less powerful member states. In the name of 'cooperation' and free trade, APEC's primary function is to extend US and Japanese economic and political control over the region, at the same time as they scrap with each other for economic control.

## **PECC and the EPG - the power behind the APEC throne**

"APEC operates through an invisible and intangible series of leaders and ministerial meetings, scripted by officials, coordinated by a small secretariat in Singapore. It has none of the institutional or bureaucratic structure of Europe, nor even a set of agreements which sets out binding obligations the way NAFTA [North American Free Trade Agreement] does," writes Jane Kelsey, of the Aotearoa/New Zealand APEC Monitoring Group. "It relies for research and input on a tripartite business/academic/officials organisation known as the Pacific Economic Cooperation Conference (PECC), and a newly created Business Forum to give advice." (Kerrin Vautier is the chair of PECC in New Zealand, and each PECC Working Group has a New Zealand co-ordinator.) PECC's work shapes much of APEC's direction.



Another driving force behind APEC is the Eminent Persons Group (EPG) which has produced 3 reports since 1993, setting out a long-term vision of trade in the region. Its aim is to identify "constraints and issues which should be addressed by Governments in order to advance the dynamism of trade in the region" such as barriers to trade. It comprises prominent academics, financiers, and businesspeople, all zealous exponents of the free market. Its New Zealand member is Sir Dryden Spring, Chairman of the NZ Dairy Board, and director of several NZ and international companies. The EPG's reports have been seen even by some APEC members as over the top and largely US-driven.

APEC works in a very secretive manner. In recent years it has created a number of ideologically-driven bodies like the standing committee on trade and investment (CTI), and an ad hoc committee on economic trends and issues (ETI). Various working groups and fora within PECC develop ideas on a range of areas like 'human resource development', and trade policy. There are numerous meetings of academics, business representatives, and government officials acting in an 'informal' capacity to discuss various topics. These invisible, unaccountable processes raise questions as to the very legitimacy of APEC. Robert Scollay, New Zealand co-ordinator of the PECC Trade Policy Forum (TPF) describes the TPF as "a self-selected group...populated by people committed to the multilateral system based around the GATT. There's little discussion of that...because it's taken as common ground by most of the people working in the TPF".

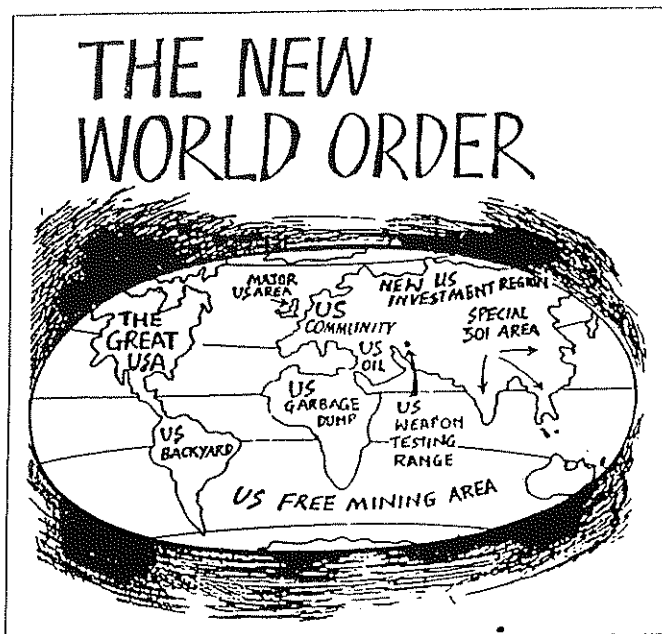
## **Full speed ahead - but who counts the costs?**

The acceleration of APEC development since the 1993 APEC Summit has raised concerns around the world. Asia, especially East and Southeast Asia, has been the world's fastest growing region in the past decade. High growth is projected there well into the 21st century. This economic performance comes at the expense of the region's people and environment, and has made most of the region's economies dependent on European and North American markets. This in turn has made their

governments vulnerable to US pressure through bilateral trade and investment negotiations, and more recently through APEC. The US is forcing APEC's development to make it a more effective instrument for advancing its economic interests in the region and for its competition with the European Union. With the conclusion of the GATT Uruguay Round, APEC sees its role being to 'ratchet up' the GATT process by tearing down remaining protections, forcing other countries to move further and faster if they want to compete. Far from being an inward-looking defensive trade bloc, it wants to export its 'advances' in trade liberalisation to the rest of the world, and fill perceived 'gaps' in the Uruguay Round resolution. For those most influential in pushing APEC, GATT does not go far enough!

### US hypocrisy

It is no accident that Clinton's administration began pushing APEC soon after NAFTA's approval. Both organisations are meant to be tools for the more effective infiltration of the economies of the member countries by US capital. The US condemned Malaysia's 1990 proposal to set up a regional trading bloc, the East Asia Economic Grouping (EAEG), which left out Canada, the US, Australia and New Zealand. At the time, Malaysian PM Mahathir Mohamad said "We are perplexed to find that this objective... is being opposed openly and covertly by the very country which preaches free trade". US opposition to the EAEG existed at a time when NAFTA was being formed on the principle of the right of free association of sovereign nations. "Can it be that what is right and proper for the rich and powerful is not right and proper for the poor?", asked PM Mahathir. APEC promotes another version of free trade based on the impoverishment of the many for the benefit of the already rich and powerful. Mahathir remains vocal in his pragmatism and scepticism of Western motives, enjoying considerable support from Asian allies. An Asian-only grouping supplanting APEC is still a very real possibility if they are pushed too far too fast.



### Spreading market myths

The push for a free market in the region is ironic given the reasons for the economic success of major players in SE Asia. Asia's economic 'dragons' - Singapore, Taiwan, South Korea and Hong Kong - have been successful because of state intervention - not the privatisation and trade liberalisation which APEC supports. Taiwan's petrochemical, iron and steel industries are in state hands, while Korean state corporation Posco is the world's second largest steel company.



Within the region, economic relations are grossly unequal. Japanese trade and investment were the main instruments for infiltrating the economies of the first generation NICs - Newly Industrialised Countries. Together with Japan, Taiwan and South Korea in turn infiltrated the economies of Southeast Asia. There is now a rush to exploit cheap labour and new markets in China and Indochina. As elsewhere, economic growth has been accompanied by:

- low wages, the erosion of health and safety standards, and restrictions on workers' rights to organise;
- the depletion of the natural resource base and degradation of the environment to an extent that threatens the very survival of Asia-Pacific peoples;
- the shameless trafficking of people, especially women and children;
- destroying traditional agriculture and indigenous people's livelihood without providing alternative jobs and incomes.

In November 1994 Prime Minister Jim Bolger hailed APEC as having the potential to improve the lot of all two billion people in the Asia-Pacific region, with 'remarkable' opportunities ahead for New Zealand (*Press, November 17th 1994*). As usual, the political rhetoric ignores the human reality. Paradoxically, after nearly five decades of global 'economic growth' the world heads towards the 21st century with over a billion people living in abject poverty of whom about 800 million live in the Asia-Pacific area. Many people's organisations and non-governmental organisations (NGOs) believe that the economic deregulation of which APEC is a part may not promote, or even block the advancement of social justice and democratic development in APEC member nations.

People all over the Asia-Pacific region (and indeed the world) are told that free trade and market reforms are the only alternatives if countries want to remain "competitive" in an emerging global economy. The APEC process makes assumptions about the efficacy of the trade, investment and commerce model as the only way in which global development strategies should be realised. But there must be a critical, continuing, democratic process to determine and evaluate the appropriateness of any development model now and in the future.

Serious concerns about the development of APEC and matters already on its agenda include:

- \* the invisible and undemocratic nature of the APEC process
- \* the effects of regional economic policy coordination through APEC on national sovereignty
- \* the focus on economic growth without protection for social and human rights
- \* failure to balance deregulation of investment with ethical responsibilities for governments and TNCs, including control of the trade in arms
- \* the risk that economic deregulation and open competition will create a "race to the bottom" with lowest common denominator standards, if any, on labour, environment and safety
- \* pressures to attract foreign investors by providing false stability through repression, instead of true stability through participatory democracy
- \* linking APEC with structural adjustment programmes supported by the International Monetary Fund (IMF), World Bank and the Asian Development Bank

During the November 1994 APEC Summit in Jakarta, NGOs identified concerns about specific proposals from the ministerial meeting and endorsed by the economic leaders. These included:

The Statement of Investment Principles seeks to open the region to free movement of capital and investment. NGOs have warned that foreign investment without adequate protections will be a social, economic, environmental and political disaster. Yet the principles omit the (already weak) section of the PECC Draft Investment Code which deals with the responsibilities of foreign investors. Investors are expected to act as 'good corporate citizens' - little consolation for the region's peoples who have seen the social and environmental destruction already wrought by such policies.

The Declaration on Human Resources Development divides the region's workers into a high-skilled elite of entrepreneurs, managers, technical workers, educators and future economic leaders, and a 'flexible' low-wage labour force to service foreign investors' needs. Workers are not commodities to be harnessed for economic growth, but have internationally recognised rights and legitimate expectations for a fair share of the wealth they create, and to create that wealth in conditions of economic and political security.

The Standing Economic Committee focuses on economic growth and coordination of macro and microeconomic policies through deregulation, interdependence and foreign investment. This ignores recent lessons from structural adjustment and regional integration. Large corporations and a small local elite have reaped the benefits. Most people remain impoverished, resources are depleted, and democratic governments disempowered. Such economic development is unsustainable.

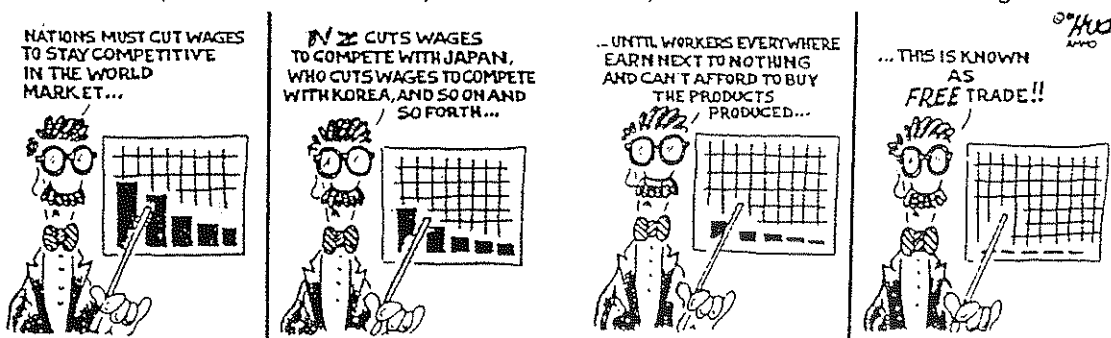
The establishment of an APEC Business Forum has formally incorporated the private sector into APEC. An advisory body representing the private sector, with no parallel input from those most affected by APEC, cannot deliver sound advice. APEC acts like an elite club promoting the interests of wealthy investors, ignoring the mass of the region's peoples.

The leaders' meeting in Jakarta endorsed a "voluntary, non-binding code" of investment principles which would allow capital a free rein. But competition for foreign investment and the subtle coercion of the international and regional institutions in the future will make it hard to resist. The leaders adopted a timetable for achieving free and open trade and investment in the region by 2020. Target dates vary according to each member's economic development. Clinton's version of the Enterprise for the Americas Initiative has since set a target of 2005 for free trade in the Americas, so pressure will be on APEC to move just as fast. Other issues, like the environment, human resources, and infrastructure are waiting in the wings.

## APECSpeak

*The language used in APEC literature points to the shortsighted, market-driven ethos prevailing among those who influence APEC's direction. People become commodities - 'human resources'. APEC describes itself as a grouping of 'economies', not countries. This avoids the political minefield of the three Chinas - the People's Republic of China, Taiwan, and Hong Kong, and highlights how APEC tries to isolate out the human and environmental impacts of free trade, leaving discussion about the political, social and cultural effects of APEC off the agenda. The EPG mentions the desire of APEC to achieve 'global openness' - yet APEC is far from open, transparent or democratic. And the very inclusion of the word 'Pacific' is odd given APEC's contentious non-inclusion of small Pacific nations.*

*Some say cynically that the main reason that the word is used is because the USA has a Pacific coastline. (The USA and Canada have no obvious non-economic link with Asia.)*

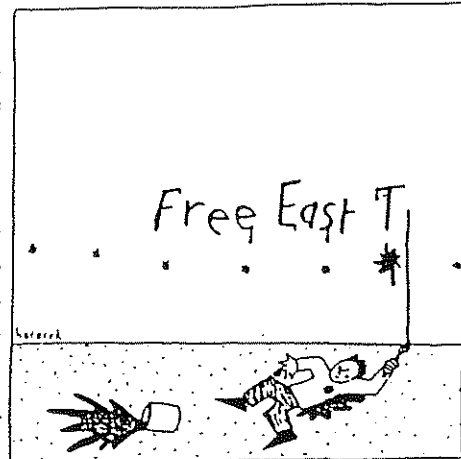


APEC promises a Clayton's cooperation and stability while creating a powerful alliance of big business and politicians, and an increasingly disaffected and disenfranchised underclass. Such false stability can only be maintained through repression, rather than genuine stability based on real democracy and peoples' participation.

### Economic tunnel vision

Reasons for involvement in APEC vary. ASEAN countries, for example, and the US have quite different viewpoints. The US, Australia, Canada and New Zealand push an aggressive free trade and investment agenda, but ASEAN and other Asian countries take a more pragmatic approach. Despite the considerable tensions and different views held by participating countries and groupings within the APEC framework, clearly, for all the jargon about 'open regionalism' in the Asia-Pacific region, there is nothing 'open' about the process. The major economic and political players, in determining the region's future, stick so strongly to blind faith in market forces and the desirability of countries to be fully open to foreign investment that the voices of the vast majority of the region's peoples are dismissed like the annoying buzzing of insects in the ears of the 'experts' - politicians and businesspeople who preach trickledown economics. Amid the flurry of activity around APEC, the issue of who benefits and who loses from free trade is not discussed in the working groups and other bodies that make up APEC.

Claims that economic and trade issues can and should be dealt with separately from political, social and environmental concerns are both false and dangerous. False because economic deregulation affects everyone - history shows that international trade and investment programmes directly influence the nature of development. And dangerous because this worldview lets big business, governments and powerful financial institutions like the World Bank and the IMF operate with impunity in pushing a market model of development which has had devastating effects in rolling back the progress made by many countries in the South. It insulates trade and economic policies from their social, political, cultural and environmental effects. This clinical detachment of economic/trade issues from social justice issues could be seen when participants at the Jakarta Summit ignored protests at the nearby US Embassy carpark by pro-independence East Timorese, and the heavy air of repression created by Indonesian security forces. An unspoken rule in APEC is that issues which might embarrass another member country should not be raised - so human rights stay off the agenda.



***"APEC is not just about trade and economic issues. It has a social and political dimension. Economic deregulation affects the lives of everyone: workers, women, indigenous peoples, farmers, consumers, among others. So far these have been ignored"***. M S Zulkarnaen, Executive Director of the Indonesian Forum For Environment, November 1994.

Given the appalling treatment of indigenous peoples and other marginalised groups within the societies of the member nations of APEC, as state governments continue to ride roughshod over their rights to self-determination, moves to accelerate free trade and foreign investment in the region spell the start of another bleak chapter of oppression and injustice. The January 1994 Zapatista uprising in Chiapas, Mexico, explicitly targetted NAFTA as a "death sentence" for indigenous peasant farmers. Some of the strongest opposition to free trade and corporate control has come from Maori (Aotearoa), Mapuche (Chile), North American First Nations peoples, and other indigenous peoples who see links between the current concentration of power, resources and control in the hands of a few politicians and big business and earlier forms of colonialism.

Jim Bolger strongly supports the creation of a regional free trade bloc by 2020. The 1995 APEC leaders summit takes place in Osaka, Japan, in November 1995. Like other APEC leaders, Bolger's refusal to address issues of social justice and human rights such as Indonesia's occupation of East Timor signals that New Zealand supporters of free trade are not willing to look at the human costs. Specifically ruling out linking trade with human rights, he said: "We have traded with everybody around, and the suggestion that we are going to draw up a list of good and bad is fraught with enormous dangers". (*Press*, 17/9/94). The price of APEC will be borne by the already exploited workers of Asia, the region's indigenous peoples, women and peasant farmers, but also, more and more by New Zealand workers subject to legislation like the Employment Contracts Act, high unemployment, high rates of foreign investment which all force the poverty gap to widen. The same processes that have enslaved millions of Asian workers to profit-fixated, inhuman transnational companies are already operating at home.

***Produced by Aziz Choudry - GATT Watchdog, September 1995***

**GATT Watchdog, PO Box 1905, Otautahi (Christchurch)**

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# SOVEREIGNTY, DEMOCRACY AND HUMAN RIGHTS

The contradiction between sovereignty, democracy and human rights on the one hand, and the global market economy on the other, is the burning question of our time. Its centrality in contemporary critical debate reflects the deep disquiet many people feel about our rapidly and radically changing world. The familiar and relatively stable social, economic and political environment of the interventionist, corporatist welfare state has been replaced by a new set of institutions, interests, values and imperatives, designed to meet the needs of international capital and domestic elite. The process and substance of structural change has left many feeling alienated and disempowered, not just in Aotearoa, but all over the world.

Concepts of sovereignty, democracy and human rights are important tools with which to challenge this new paradigm. But relying unduly on these mega-concepts runs the risk that we get stuck in the rhetoric. We take them as unquestioned goods on whose content we all agree. Yet if we scratch the surface we quickly discover that this is not true. Many people are still nostalgic for the era of the centralised welfare state, fortress economy, stable parliamentary democracy and corporatist politics of the past. Others of us argue that this is both undesirable and unattainable. The economic and political self-determination within their own land and blamed them their consequent dependence on the dispossessor. For women, the welfare state was centred on the male breadwinner in paid employment, supported by women who serviced the private estate. Political power was controlled through parties, trade unions and lobby groups whose power structures were as inaccessible to ordinary people as the new regime.

Even if we wished to resurrect this imperfect past, we cannot. Its institutional base has been deliberately and irretrievably broken down. We need to face up to this and accept the challenge of moving forward, identifying social values, economic models, political structures and processes, and the terms for ethical co-existence between Maori and Pakeha on which a socially just future can be based. In doing this we need to show vision - the ability to think beyond the paradigms of the past and present and believe that there truly is a better way. There clearly are alternatives, some of which you have heard already in this seminar. The question I want to address is how to make them come about.

We need to be realistic about the barriers in our path. Powerful political and economic forces operating domestically and internationally - so far as that distinction is still meaningful - will seek to prevent meaningful change. The architects of structural adjustment consciously moved as fast as possible to the point of no return. Let us have no illusions about how difficult these changes will be to reverse or set aside.

At the level of policy, a coherent set of norms, premised on unfettered market forces and limited government, has displaced those of the centralised, interventionist welfare state. Each element was deeply integrated in a conceptual and an operational sense. These policy norms are underpinned by a powerful ideology that binds each element together. Their internal incoherence and questionable assumptions are shielded by constant reinforcement in official, media and academic circles. Critics have been marginalised, denigrated and harassed, or have, to borrow and apt phrase from Chomsky, 'col-

lapsed into careerism or subordination'. Altering one element of the structural adjustment programme - health policy, the Employment Contracts Act, or even monetary policy - will not substantially affect the paradigm. Consciously realigning all the fundamentals would require an exercise as coherent, well planned and ruthlessly executed as the structural adjustment programme itself. There are obviously logistical problems in doing that. The risk of failure is, in itself, likely to deter. The alternatives of piecemeal reform and adjustments to detail may leave the neo-liberal paradigm unstable and riddled with contradictions, but still basically intact.

At the administrative level, key technocrats, agencies and private actors have secured a high degree of autonomy from political interference. They control economic policy-making, implementation and information in a way that makes them potentially indispensable and difficult to dislodge. We can be assured that they will resist any moves to dismantle the administrative framework from which they derive their power, or fundamentally to alter its policy direction.

Embedding the new regime in legislation such as the Reserve Bank Act, Fiscal Responsibility Act, State-owned Enterprises Act, Overseas Investment Act, Employment Contracts Act, Public Finance Act, and Commerce Act has provided a further barrier to change. None of these Acts is constitutionally entrenched; they can be amended or repealed by a simple majority in the current or future parliament. Only the international obligations under CER of the World Trade Organisation (WTO), brought into play by and act of state, are effectively beyond Parliament's reach, and even the WTO offers

can, in theory, be wound back in subsequent negotiating rounds, by the exercise of emergency powers to protect the balance of payments, or by withdrawing from the organisation altogether. Yet most of those laws contain explicit policy principles and norms that are intended to restrain future amendment or repeal. Neo-liberal 'orthodoxy' had been made the reference point within which future policy arguments are to be framed, and against which alternatives will be measured. Any deviations from or future changes to the legislation will have to be justified politically in explicit policy terms, and secure majority support in a Parliament governed by MMP.

Complementing the legislative machine is the coercive power of the common law. Its most fundamental concept, the inviolability of private property rights, is bound to be invoked to protect the interests of capital against any reassertion of collectivism, whether on the part of indigenous peoples or the central state.

How far these factors deter future governments from over-turning the new status quo will depend partly on the political climate and economic and social conditions of the time. Yet domestic politics is not the only considerations. The most powerful forces with will protect the new regime against change are not personal, ideological, legal, political or structural. They are economic. New politicians can be elected. New bureaucrats can be appointed. New policy norms can be developed. Laws can be repealed and new ones passed. But only with enormous difficulty and great cost can the changes to the economy be reversed.

The deep infiltration of the New Zealand economy by international capital has been a clear and deliberate strategy. Trans-national capital, especially finance capital, has the power to influence and potentially dictate, the terms of any policy which impacts on international competitiveness, profitability and economic stability. That includes Treaty of Waitangi, environment and social policy. Attempts to

nationalise, to restrict the operations movements of capital, to renege on eh bindings in the GATT, to significantly increases taxes, to re-regulate the labour market, or to require a balance of economic, social and environmental goals will invite a potentially devastating backlash. It is this threat that stands as the ultimate barrier to change.

At the same time, there is hope. Even the seemingly irrepressible power of transnational capital is far from secure. The neo-liberal economy has never been the smooth-working and self-adjusting model its theorists make out. The free market economies which existed in the nineteenth century collapsed partly through their own inadequacies and internal determination, combined with a strong sense of identity, vision and ethics, hold the key to meaningful change.

In isolated pockets these alternatives can be tolerated and accommodated by the neo-liberal regime. But attempts to promote them as alternative visions for the future will pit the economic imperatives and vested interests of the global market-place against the political determination of peoples and communities to achieve social justice, and to reassert some control over their lives. That will produce resistance from both sides.

This brings me back to questions of sovereignty and democracy - are these sound foundations for our vision of the future, and if so, what do they mean? As I said at the PIRM seminar last year, for sovereignty to be liberating it must mean more than just the right of the state to exercise formal legal authority peoples, policies and practices within its geographical boundaries. There is no guarantee that such exercises of power by the state will be benevolent, wise, accountable or representative of a majority, let alone serve the needs of the weak and disempowered. Nor is it realistic to talk about the exercise of state sovereignty over all things when much of that power has been formally been given away and will not easily be retrieved.

Sovereignty must also mean more than state control of economic decisions that affect the relations of production, distribution and exchange within New Zealand's borders. Economic sovereignty in the sense of true self-determination has never existed since Maori were stripped of control over their resources 1840. New Zealand's colonial economy has always been dependent and vulnerable, and has been made more so in recent years. At the same time, however, global capital is not autonomous and its needs are not self-executing. It requires the continued co-operation of domestic governments. And even where the government is accommodating, it also needs a sustainable ecosystem and the acquiescence of the populace.

So national governments are not totally redundant. They still serve significant functions of state direction, planning and management, albeit within restricted perimeters. They can still be pressured to pass legislation that regulates the economic, social, political, cultural and environmental activities of natural and corporate entities within their jurisdiction, providing those laws accord with their external obligations. They can and do redistribute social income through fiscal and welfare strategies, although again of a different degree and kind. National economies also continue to exist. But they are now so deeply imbricated in the global or trans-national economy that any future vision has to take account of the nature and extent of that restraint.

If the state still has a role to play, who controls it becomes critically important. Traditionally, pressures to change economic direction in New Zealand have focused on political sovereignty exercised through electoral democracy. When a government proved unresponsive to demands for change, people could in theory vote that party out of power. When such behaviour became endemic to the political system, however, the system itself came into disrepute. In 1993, a majority of New Zealand people reflected that sentiment by voting the electoral system out. they

replaced it with a system which they believed would better promote their interests, values and preferred policies in the future. but the potential for a truly accountable, representative, participatory and effective governments to be elected under MMP, which can articulate and pursue a less-market approach, seems extremely low.

Popular expectations of MMP seem quite inflated. Its supporters have assumed that electoral reform will restore accountability and representation to the political system and help moderate, if not reverse, the structural adjustment programme. but the polls now suggest that the only party which could secure an outright majority is National. If no party does so, there is a strong possibility that a coalition of extreme libertarians, conservative moralists, pro-market Progressive Greens, the centre-right National Party and other centrist forces will hold power. Voters who believe that they can secure real change through MMP will have to wait three more years to try again.

A coalition government of the centre-left will almost certainly include Labour, and it is likely to insist that key elements of the structural adjustment programme are retained. If Labour's hand is forced, the previously unthinkable National/Labour alliance is a genuine prospect. Alternatively, Labour's centrist MPs could peel off to the other side, leaving Labour in a

minority coalition with the Alliance and maybe New Zealand First. Even if a genuine centre-left coalition with the Alliance is elected, the entrenched nature of the changes will seriously limit what a more responsive and representative government, especially one working through a coalition, can do. The moderating effect of coalitions make major policy swings and significant new structural reforms extremely unlikely.

This conservative assessment is shared by many of the technocrats and their allies. The time lapse between the 1993 referendum and the first MMP election has offered them three further years in which to finish the job. Most of the existing technocrats will remain in control of the state machinery for several more years. An inexperienced, hostile coalition government will find it enormously difficult to neutralise their power. Indeed, Treasury officials seem confident that MMP will make the new regime more secure, reasoning that any party within a coalition government will have to negotiate a compromise and make commitments to which it will be bound. This would induce a cautious approach to ensure that the coalition remains intact and prevent any extreme reversal of the new status quo.

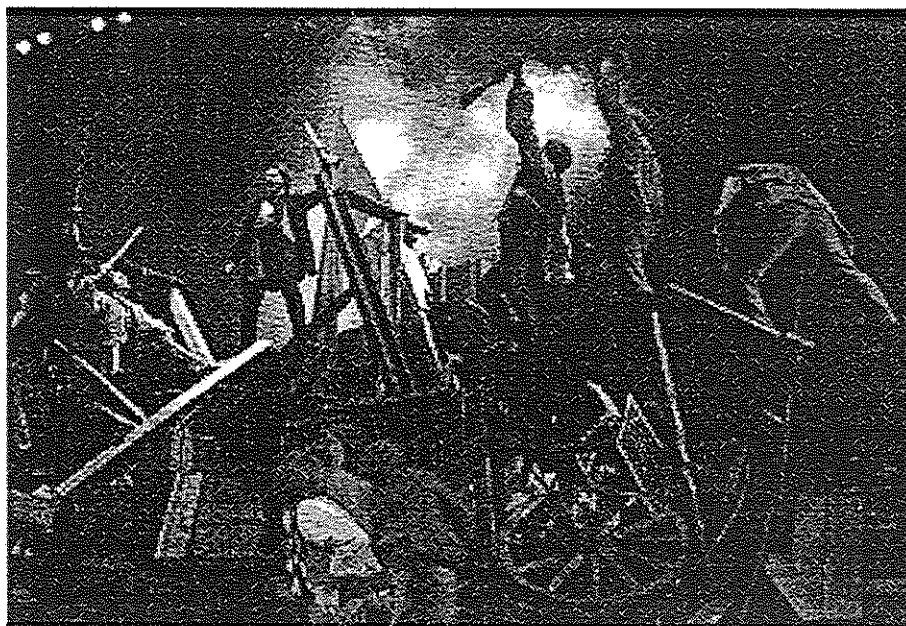
If the attempt to reassert political sovereignty through electoral reform does fail, people may lower their expectations accordingly. Popular

acquiescence, backed by a consensus among political leaders, elite lobby groups, corporate actors and the media, could then limit economic debate and demands within what they consider acceptable bounds. Benefactors and beneficiaries of the new regime could hold the line until the next generation, the children of the market, take their place.

But not everyone is likely to accept the new social order as a *fiat accompli*. If the traditional political channels prove futile, those who re committed to change will be left to exercise popular sovereignty through alternative non-state strategies, alliances and forums. The challenge will be to construct new forms of economics, politics and identity at the tribal, community, sectoral, national, regional or international levels through which people can collectively, co-operatively and creatively reassert.

The sovereignty of the state is therefore limited. How far the residual legal authority of the state benefits the people will depend on constitutional arrangements, openness and accountability. Legal sovereignty will be further constrained by limits on economic autonomy. Government still has some important regulatory powers. How it exercises them will depend on political will, an assessment of the risk, and pressure from the electorate. If governments are unwilling to test the boundaries, people might acquiesce. Alternatively, political strategies premised on popular sovereignty might emerge.

By 1995 it is clear that the sharp end of politics, the point of real resistance, the assertion of popular sovereignty, and potentially the future direction of this country is coming from Maori. The critical question is whether those Pakeha who now find themselves victims of the neo-liberal regime will continue to side with the state and international capital against Maori, or whether enough will change sides and seek out a complementary



vision and strategy for the future.

In conclusion, people can challenge the new regime; but it will not be easy, there may be no mainstream political channels to work through, and it will come at a price. The restructuring of New Zealand's economic, political and cultural life since 1984 was intended to be irreversible. That has not made it humanly acceptable. Nor has it closed off channels for innovation and struggle. People still have a choice. They can fall into line, and become creatures and victims of the global market within a divided and polarised society. Or they can seek out new identities, new economic strategies and new decolonised forms of politics, which eschew nostalgia for an irretrievable past and respond creatively to a rapidly changing world. Ultimately, the peoples of New Zealand have to decide the kind of society in which they want to live. Many Maori seem to have made their choice. It remains for the mass of Pakeha to work out where they - we - wish to stand.

For those who take up that challenge, imaginative strategies for change might adopt include:

*Challenge the TINA syndrome* - convince people individually and collectively that there are alternatives. Carefully analyse present barriers and future trends to produce options that combine realism with the prospect of meaningful

change. Actively promote them and have them ready to be implemented when the market fails.

*Promote informed debate and critique* - build up a constituency for change through alternative information networks and the media; use tribal, community, workplace, women's, church, creche, union and similar outlets, and harness technology where available, to balance the good-news machine with critical analysis of the economic and social costs.

*Promote participatory democracy* - encourage people to take back control; empower them with knowledge to understand the forces affecting them and the points at which they can intervene. Stress that no one has a fail-safe recipe for change, and that everyone has a contribution to make. Recognise the skills, resources and insights of tribes, individuals, communities, sectoral groups and civil society, and the right to act both separately and in concert.

*Embrace the Treaty of Waitangi as a liberating force* - moving forward means facing up to the past. Healing the wounds from over 155 years means restoring to Maori their economic and political power. Constructive debate on a treaty-based republican constitution can provide a liberating framework within which Maori and Pakeha can co-exist.

*Encourage progressive counter-nationalism* - celebrate diversity rather than uniformity; work to build identities and values which replace xenophobia, racism and nostalgia with multiple identities and progressive visions for the future.

• Jane Kelsey



"I pledge allegiance to the foundation that gives me money..."

## Gillette Protests

Animal rights activists took their anti-vivisection message to the roof of a Wellington Supermarket yesterday. Protesters, including one dressed as a giant bunny, unfurled a banner reading "Gillette Tortures Animals" on the roof of the Wakefield Street New World supermarket. Inside, protesters released helium filled balloons with anti animal testing messages dangling beneath them.

The activists said Gillette is one of the biggest remaining companies still testing their products on animals. Two groups, Save Animals From Exploitation and Wellington Animal Action, joined forces for the protest.

Spokesperson Ben Griffiths said "The reason we are targeting New World supermarket is because these supermarkets are profiting from cruelty. A large proportion of the items on sale in supermarkets involve animal abuse so they must expect to be targeted by protesters."

"Over 500 other cosmetics companies manage to make the same products that Gillette make, without shoving chemicals into rabbits eyes so there's no reason why Gillette can't stop testing right now."

Protesters occupied the roof for about 30 minutes while others handed out leaflets at the main entrance to the supermarket. Police arrived, but no arrests were made, much to the disappointment of the supermarket management.

The protesters then moved across the road and performed street theatre, involving "Doctor Death" chasing "Chester the Bunny" with a giant syringe.

Thursday marked the anniversary of the founding of Gillette in 1901. A further protest will be held on Saturday at an undisclosed location.

# INTERNATIONAL NEWS

## INDONESIA: JET FIGHTERS DO NOT VIOLATE HUMAN RIGHTS

The New York-based Amnesty International USA (AIUSA) says it has no plans to fight the proposed sale of F-16 jet fighters even though it has traditionally opposed arms sales to Indonesia.

"It is very difficult to link F-16 fighter planes to human rights abuses," T. Kumar of AIUSA stated.

Addressing the Senate Foreign Relations Committee in July, Stapleton Roy, U.S. Ambassador-designate to Jakarta, said the proposed deal "makes sense in terms of our broad relations with Indonesia." Roy also said that Indonesia has legitimate security concerns because of conflicting territorial claims in the South China Sea.

Joel Johnson of the Washington-based Aerospace Industries Association told IPS the Bill Clinton Administration should have no problem selling the jet fighters to Indonesia because "F-16s are not used for crowd control."

According to figures released by the Pentagon, Washington plans to sell about 26 million dollars worth of arms to Indonesia in fiscal year 1996: up from 4.6 million dollars the previous year.

## WORLD BANK AND IMF PROTESTS

WASHINGTON, Oct 9 - A dozen black-shrouded, scythe-wielding, grim reapers danced their way Monday onto the lawn of the palatial Sheraton Hotel, site of this week's annual meetings here of the World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF), at the head of a procession of hundreds of protesters.

"More world, less Bank. Feed the people, starve the Bank," chanted a group of young activists who had travelled from states as far away as

California and Vermont as they waved banners and placards denouncing the policies of the two Bretton Woods agencies.

October 10 - Native Forest Network (NFN) and Earth First! activists hung two banners from a crane at the construction site of the lavish new World Bank headquarters. The banners, strung from the crane's cross-arm 200 feet above the entrances to the World Bank and IMF, read "World Bank Equals Genocide" and "U.S. Out of Mexico." Three other activists locked themselves part way up the tower of the crane, and were arrested.

## 34,000 WORKERS WALK OUT AT BOEING

Fueled by their anger at 40,000 recent layoffs, 34,000 members of the Machinists union went on strike at the Boeing Co. on Oct. 6. Workers eager to get on with the fight set up Seattle picket lines hours before the strike officially began.

After seeing their ranks reduced from 57,000 in 1990 to 34,000 today, the workers want job security. The strike's primary focus is to save union jobs, which Boeing is leaching away through the practice of outsourcing.

With no agreement in sight, the union called for a slowdown four days before the strike deadline. Workers were urged to obey every work rule and regulation to the letter.

On Oct. 6, workers at all the Boeing plants marched around the factories and on to their union halls. There, they voted to strike by a 78-percent majority.

## MANILA STRIKE AGAINST HIGH PRICES

In response to a 63% increase in the price of rice in August, and massive repression of the right to

form unions and to strike, Filipino workers, led by the National Confederation of Labor (NCL) and the Bukluran ng Manggagawa para sa Pagbabago (BMP), organised a one-day general strike on September 18.

Factories fell silent and production ground to a crawl as militant unions in Metro Manila and the nearby province of Rizal launched a work stoppage on September 18, Monday early morning.

The factory walkouts started at daybreak as the night shifts were packing up and regular time workers were assembling. Pickets were set up at factory gates, short protest programs were held after which strikers took rides or marched to the strike's central demonstration at Makati City, the country's heart of finance and capital.

## SOUTH KOREA: STUDENTS BATTLE COPS OVER 1980 MAS-SACRE

The Korean people cannot forget the Kwangju massacre. More than 3,000 people were killed there in 1980 by the South Korean military.

That's why today students throughout South Korea are battling cops. They are demanding that Chun Doo-hwan and Roh Tae-woo be brought to justice. These two former generals who became presidents had led the hand-picked troops in crushing the Kwangju uprising.

On May 26, 1980, Four brigades of paratroopers and part of the 20th Division of the south Korean army attacked the Kwangju Commune. For days the South Korean army attacked its own people with M-45 tanks and massive artillery shelling (American equipment).

The entire south Korean police force - a total of 130,000 - has been put on alert against these protests. Their massive use of clubs and teargas has not been able to stop

the demonstrations.  
In downtown Seoul, 10 000 students occupied streets. Banks and

other businesses were forced to close as the students defended themselves with sticks against the

clubs of the police. Earlier the same day, 700 students at Sogang University in Seoul ran through teargas.

# JUST JOBS, JUST WAGES

This year the Trade Union Federation is running a campaign to improve the conditions of its members. The Just Jobs, Just Wages campaign is aiming for:

- A substantial wage rise for all workers in 1995
- No-one should earn less than \$7.30 an hour
- Stop casualisation
- Permanent work, permanent hours,
- End the lockout of unemployed
- Jobs for all
- Pay Equity back on the agenda.

A number of successes have been achieved by TUF affiliated unions to these ends.

Workers at Chemical Cleaning in Mt Maunganui were offered a 2% pay increase by their employer. They then joined the Northern Chemical Union, and after strike action gained a 13% pay increase! At the Gillette plant in Wiri, a 6% pay increase and increases in maternity leave and redundancy provisions were gained.

Two days of industrial action at the Honda Assembly Plant in Nelson resulted in an increase of 3.8% on wages and payment for time lost in meetings. Four months earlier the company had presented demands that included the "Honda Way" - workplace reform, or working harder and faster for no return, and a totally new pay system. The company attempted to divide the workers, both within and across union lines. For the first time ever at Honda, however, the Manufacturing and Construction Workers Union and the Engineers Union worked negotiated with the employer together.

Following a stop work meeting in September, where the Company failed to address the workers concerns, workers voted to hold

sectional meetings. It was recognised that such meetings would probably be considered strike action by the employer.

The meetings began in the paint shop where the first meeting of 45 minutes created a big hole in the normal line of cars. After this hole was filled the sealer operators held their meeting and an even larger hole was created and so the meetings continued throughout the day resulting in only one third of the normal number of vehicles being put through the paint shop on that day.

That same afternoon the company wrote to the members and withdrew a weekly payment of \$12 that had been paid since the old contract had expired, because of the disruption in the plant. The same letter detailed what each individual could expect if they accepted the company's new skill based pay system. Increases ranged from 1% to 7%. The catch was that all allowances were to be included in the hourly rate thus considerably shrinking the real pay rise.

The members were furious. Letters were ripped up and thrown back at the deliverer or screwed up and biffed in the rubbish bin.

The next morning at the members stop work the company's letter was unanimously rejected and the workers voted to hold rolling stoppages in the plant, ban all overtime and work "without enthusiams".

The paint shop led the way again. Meanwhile on the chassis line a one hour stoppage and working without enthusiams cut production by 75%. The body shop was so full of cars the company had to stop union members from working and put them onto non-essential maintenance!

Later that afternoon the company made a new, more realistic, offer which lifts the bottom pay rate to

\$10.10 per hour and resulted in settlement. The settlement is thought to be the highest in the motor industry since the Employment Contracts Act.

12 June 1995

## ENZA Products Ltd., Auckland - Strike

It is appropriate that we begin the first Bulletin of JUST JOBS, JUST WAGES with details of the strike at ENZA Products, the makers of Just Juice. Food and Beverage Union organiser Shane Te Pou reports that 60 mainly young workers have been on strike since 5 June for a share of the company's record profits.  
**Aorangi Steel Ltd., Temuka - 5% Increase**

M & C Workers Union journal reports a settlement at Aorangi Steel in Temuka. Dave Rooney said members were happy to receive a 5% wage increase and retain their penal payments and monetary allowances from the old Boilermakers Award.

## CWF Hamilton, Christchurch - 3% to 16% Increase

Hugh Rice, Secretary M & C Workers Union Christchurch, reports that indentured trades people or worker with an equivalent skill received a special payment of \$1.51 on top of the normal qualification payment taken the over-all settlement for some at CWF to 16%. The groups or worker who received only the basic pay rise of 3% were all non-union.

## • Trade Union Federation

# YCW Calendars

The Young Christian Workers (YCW) have asked me to contact you about their calendars with the 1995 theme "Young Women Workers". There are 12 attractive 10 x 10 inch pictures depicting Asian women workers.

The proceeds of the sale go half to the Asia/Pacific co-ordination team of the YCW and the other half to the Aotearoa/New Zealand YCW. The local movement is growing strongly. In fact a young worker Joanna Casey from Christchurch is attending the International YCW World Council in South Africa during December of this year.

The price of the calendar is \$10. the colour photos are attractive and I think worth what is the upper range of a price for a calendar. Please order by ringing or writing.

Rev. Mark Krasushaar-Moesbergen

Catholic Presbytery  
Telegraph Road  
Darfield  
Ph (03) 318-8142

## Sovereignty Affirmed

Maaori sovereignty supporters are asking every Maaori in the country to sign the 1835 Declaration of Independence.

A facsimile copy of the declaration will be launched for signing at a celebration in Frank Kitts Park on 28th October, marking the 160th anniversary of the original declaration at Waitangi on 28th October 1835.

An organiser, Bill Hamilton, says it will then be taken around the country for signing over the next 12 months. 'Individuals, families, hapuu and iwi can rededicate themselves to the declaration' he says.

'It was a declaration that Aoteroa-New Zealand is an independent nation.

So what we are trying to do is to get people to reaffirm their commitment to the notion of Maaori independence.'

The 160th anniversary of the declaration will be marked by the arrival

of a fleet of waka ama (canoes) at Lambton Harbour at dawn on 28th Oct.

After greetings, prayers and breakfast, a soapbox will then be set up in Frank Kitts Park for everyone to have their say about what Maaori

sovereignty means in 1995.

Tents will be put up for stalls selling food and other items (contact Mere Grant, Ph 236-8619)

The amphitheatre in Frank Kitts will be used for entertainment including Kapa haka groups, a martial arts display, jazzercise, marching girls and the Mambamba African musical group.

The entertainment will continue into the night with bands Damn Native, Upper Hutt Posse and David Grace and Injustice, singers Tua Hine and Mina Ritia, clarinetist David Waho, a play from Taki Rua Theatre, a transvestite musical group and others.

Many of the same artists are also performing at an 'Alcohol-Free Rangatahi Rage', 'The Kootahi', at the James Cabaret at 8pm on Fri 27th

Oct. Tickets \$10 in advance, phone 4994602 or at the door if you speak Maaori all night; otherwise \$15.

Corso is holding a forum with Moana Jackson and David Clover to explain

Maaori Sovereignty for Paakehaa in the mezzanine meeting room of the Central Library at 6pm on Wed 25th Oct.

• City Voice (18/10/95)

## OMOMO MELEN PACIFIC

Women from the Non-self-governing territories and colonies of the Pacific tell their stories;

Aotearoa/New Zealand, Australia, West Papua, Kanaky/New Caledonia, East Timore, 'French' Polynesia, Bougainville

Omomo Melen Pacific is a 44-page booklet about the struggles of indigenous women against colonialism and sexism, and for the right of self-determination for the peoples. Containing interviews and other material never before in print, it is a valuable resource for anyone interested in social justice and Pacific politics. Only 1500 copies available.

Copies of Omomo Melen Pacific are available from P O Box 1905, Otautahi (Christchurch) Aotearoa (New Zealand). Cost: \$5 each plus \$0.80 postage. Overseas orders please add \$2.50 postage. Please make cheques payable to: Corso. Inc.

## WHAT IS AOTEAROA YOUTH NETWORK?

The Aotearoa Youth Network is an organisation dedicated to building links between youth who are active in "progressive" politics. It is open to all and seeks to provide a place for discussion, learning and action across organisations, individuals and causes.

AYN was established at the 1993 Peace, Power and Politics Confer-

ence, where over 600 people (including over 150 young people) gathered. The main activity of AYN so far has been the production of a monthly newsletter, which presently goes to over 200 people, and reaches a far wider audience. AYN has established a positive presence in the progressive peoples' movement, and hopes to go beyond "networking" to assist in the formation of new organisations and groups.

We want to put anything in this magazine that you can write - news, articles, poetry, letters, anything.

The more you write in, the more this magazine acts as a networking tool. We attempt to print anything you send without cutting but please note:

We will not print anything that is overtly racist, sexist, homophobic or offensive to any marginalised group. If you want to debate issues that may offend people, try and be very clear about what you are going to do, and why.

**Next deadline for articles:  
20th November.**

# SUBSCRIBE TO AYN!

	10 Issues	20 Issues
Unwaged/low waged	\$10	\$15
Waged	\$20	\$30

Aotearoa Youth Network  
111 Moray Place  
Otepoti / Dunedin